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I have seen an Ocimbundu male riding an ox without saddle. A cord was passed through the animal's nose to serve as reins. 492

The Portuguese name for horse is *cavalo*, a word which the Ovimbundu use in the form *okavalu*, though there is an Umbundu word *ocingongovala*, which means "going with his neck up." The Umbundu words for donkey and mule are *ocimbulu* and *omula*, respectively. 192

Generally speaking, the ears of animals are not clipped, neither are cattle branded or otherwise marked to indicate ownership, but sometimes the ears of pigs and goats are cut to aid identification. When asked why the tips of the ears of dogs are mutilated an Ocimbundu will say that a dog with uncut ears does not hear when called (Plate LVI, Fig. 2). 231

Not many families own large herds of cattle among the Ovimbundu, and I did not see a big kraal until I was in southwest Angola. Cattle, which are a measure of wealth, are used for paying fines, making funeral feasts, paying debts, and securing wives. The cattle throughout Angola are well-developed, handsome animals (Plate LVII, Fig. 1). The bull remains with the herd the entire year; there is therefore no particular season for the birth of calves. Usually cows are not milked by the Ovimbundu, consequently these people have no milk, butter, or cheese. The Vakuanyama of the south milk their cows and churn butter in calabashes slung on a pole. 233 556 [171]

The Ovimbundu say that milking the cow makes the calf thin, but where the idea of milking the cow is borrowed from the Portuguese the Ovimbundu have a procedure which is as follows: The calf is allowed to suck for a few minutes in order to deceive the cow; then the milker begins his work. At intervals of a few minutes the calf is allowed to suck in order to continue the deception. 234 [177]

Cattle are killed at the funeral feasts of the rich, and the horns of the slaughtered animals are generally mounted on a pole in the vicinity of the grave (Plate XLVI, Fig. 2). [765]

The horns of the cow may be used for making water-pipes in which tobacco is smoked, or they may be employed as magical horns when filled with medicine. The hide is pegged out in the sunlight for one day after it has been scraped; it is then rolled and kept until required. When about to be used, the skin is soaked in water for one day. The hide is used to cover the tops of stools, to make pouches and to manufacture bags for carrying corn. In bygone days each king had a wooden box covered with hide, which contained his powder and metal when he went to war. The cow's tail is used 237 281 90

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197 cattle and a few other traits from the Vakuanyama of southern Angola, and there seems to be no doubt that the vocabularies of the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama have been influenced by these southern contacts. Yet structure will prove the final arbiter in deciding linguistic relationships, for the Ovimbundu as extensive travelers have widely distributed their vocabulary.

Caution is necessary in making comparisons of Umbundu with surrounding languages; for, although Kuanyama has received careful attention, and the researches of Meinhof have given a reliable background for Ovambo and Herero speech, the language of the Vachokue of eastern Angola and the speech of the Mussurongo of northern Angola, call for a comprehensive work. Moreover, there yet remains the task of providing a standard Umbundu dictionary and grammar, and pending the collation of this linguistic material there are no means of determining the exact syntactical, phonetic, and other relationships of Umbundu.

VOCABULARY

• 192 Apart from a broad question of the linguistic evidence of culture contacts, there are points of interest connected with the recording of vocabularies in a restricted area. Under the heading "Nature Lore" attention was called to an extensive Umbundu vocabulary connected with those activities which underlie the economic structure. The vocabulary showed that the Ovimbundu are keen observers whose activities have resulted in the formation of a large vocabulary arising from trades and occupations. In nature study many fine distinctions are made; thus, there are words to distinguish not only trees and plants of economic importance, but varieties of snakes and lizards which are of no great economic interest.

[868] In order to test further mental activity and the acquisition of vocabulary, an Ocimbundu girl of about twelve years of age was asked to name some of the objects in my collection. Without hesitation she made the following list. The object was indicated, then the child gave the name. This information was checked by an adult interpreter who found that the child was correct in every instance, although the objects do not specially appeal to the interests of a young girl.

The objects named by this girl are as follows:

Ocimanda. Wooden dish.
Omalopa. Tobacco-pipe made from a horn.
Elenga. Pipe for smoking hemp.
Ocinanga. Brass bracelet.
Ulinda. Switch made from the tail of an ox.
Opalalenga. Leather pouch for belt.
Upi. Pounding stick.
Ombanja. Gourd with a long neck.

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Onganja. Large round gourd.
Onguwa. Net in which gourd is carried.
Ohonji. Bow.
Usongo. Arrow.
Olundovi (plural *olondovi*). Bark rope.
Ombulumbumba. Musical bow.
Ohoma. Drum.
Ohuñya. Throwing stick.
Ohanyanga. Drill for boring wood.
Ongombo. Basket used in divination.
Esanga. Water jar.
Ocipupu. Jar for palm oil.
Ocimbangu. Skin-covered box carried to war by a king.
Omusaka (diminutive, *okamisaka*). Flour-sifter.
Opesi. Tobacco-pipe.
Embunqumbungu. Bull-roarer.
Olosangu (singular, *olusangu*). Rattles for tying on the legs when dancing.
Olumbeado. Wooden flute.
Opendu or ocifuamulo. Wooden hair-comb.
Osinja. Long needle used in making mats.
Onende. Wooden pigeon and dove.
Osala. Head-dress worn by kings, warriors, medicine-men and hunters. Small brush used by medicine-man.
Ociñumañuma. Wooden image of human figure.
Olupunda. Rat trap of cane.
Ombuisa. Snuff box.

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The names for colors are restricted to a few words; but in all other respects the Umbundu vocabulary is extensive.

My interpreter said, "When I was learning colors, the women at the school told me many names, but I could see no difference at all." Ngonga contended that there was no difference between the color of a dark blue book and the black box on which it was resting. [151]

The following colors have names. Black is *tekāva.* White is *yela.* Yellow is *ondunga.* Red is *kunukā.* Greens and blues are not well distinguished linguistically, but green is *aniñamboto.* The word *tekāvisa* is used to indicate that a color is not distinctly green or blue. The word *yelisa* is used to describe gray, and all dark reds. *Wumbula* is the term which describes a greenish-blue shade.

A further study of vocabulary was made by asking Ngonga to speak into the dictaphone. In doing so he gave lists of words including nouns in their singular and plural forms, together with many examples of other parts of speech and illustrations of syntax. These records have been transcribed by Dr. M. H. Watkins. (This section was prepared with use of phonetic symbols that were easily available. For the most recent system, see "Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages," by D. Westermann and I. C. Ward, London, 1933.) 194 113

PHONETICS

VOWELS

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The vowels are *a, e, i, o, u,* and perhaps *ɔ.* They seem to be somewhat lower than the cardinal vowels. There was only one word in which the vowel *ɔ* was heard, *ɔpɔtɔlɔñɔ* (leather pouch for a belt). This word, however, appears in the field notes as *opataloña* (*opata-*